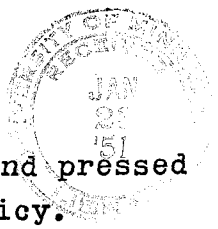
Human Events *A Weekly Analysis for the American Citizen*

Editorial Office 1710 Rhode Island Ave., N. W., WASHINGTON 6, D. C. *Telephone* NATIONAL 2066

VOL. VIII, No. 3, *Issue Number* 364, JANUARY 17, 1951 ★ *Editor:* FRANK C. HANIGHEN



WANTED: A MILITARY POLICY FOR SURVIVAL

by Edna Lonigan

Gradually the debate on foreign policy, opened by Hoover and pressed by Taft, is working round to the primary issue -- military policy. Neither foreign policy nor domestic policy can be set until we have a military policy. But first we must face the political question: Who is to make our military policy?

Because of the power of words, we assume the State Department makes foreign policy and Defense works out military strategy. This assumption is a holdover from the days when we had a Constitutional Executive, when Government agencies possessed clear-cut functions resting on statutory powers, and duties, and respected the appropriate limitations.

We do not live under that form of government any more. We live under a pyramidal type of Executive, in which all money is paid to the President under loose general grants of power, and real policy-making is determined amid a continual struggle within "the palace". In that struggle the State Department coterie now rules supreme. Professional military men or old-fashioned executive officers are no match for them.

The sound American doctrine, that the political should take precedence over the military wherever possible, has been perverted by State into a new and dangerous doctrine -- that the political planners should make the decisions on which our survival as a nation rests. State, arrogating to itself sole responsibility for the strategy by which we are to counter Soviet aggression, has left to the military only technical military questions such as training or weapons -- and the rescue of our men after they are committed.

The dividing line between political and military judgment does not run -- as it should -- between State and Defense, but between State and the top Defense officials on one side, and the muzzled professional fighting men on the other. Taft was profoundly right when he said he did not trust the plans of our top military men but exempted the generals and admirals in the field from this criticism. He put his finger on the most important issue in our struggle for survival as a nation.

II

Arms and armies are not defense. A nation can spend billions, keep millions of men under arms, build atom bomb plants and Maginot Lines, but if it follows bad strategical concepts it will be defeated. Witness

Copyright 1951 by HUMAN EVENTS, INC.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

France in 1940. In fact a certain elephantiasis in the armed forces, a rush for more men and spending, spells military sickness, not health.

Congressman Walter Judd tried without success to get to the root of the matter. When representatives of the Army, the Navy and the Air Force appeared before the House Foreign Affairs Committee, to testify for foreign aid, Judd put the questions: Are you giving us what in your judgment is the best military plan for our defense? Or are you giving us merely the best military means to implement the plan the State Department has already decided upon? The Defense officials only hedged.

A nation can not rely for its survival exclusively on political means. The military cannot start thinking on D-Day. Only when defense officials can plan their strategy wholly apart from our political hopes can they be ready to serve us if those hopes fail. Far from being subordinate to political policy, defense is the last line that protects us against all miscalculations in foreign policy.

The State Department's Grand Strategy rests ostensibly on the outworn 19th Century doctrine that Communism is a popular uprising, due to poverty among the masses. Therefore, they argued, the Soviet Union could be outgeneralled by our spending money to raise the standard of living in neighboring countries. But Communist revolution in the Twentieth Century arises out of a military coup d'etat, by a small band of conspirators directed by a foreign power.

The State Department -- to put the best possible face on it -- trusted for our survival to the thinking of Sidney and Beatrice Webb, while the Soviet strategy was by Clausewitz out of Genghis Khan.

The idea of opposing Communist strength by welfare work might have been debatable, if it had been coupled with a strong defense program, as at first proposed. Congressmen Judd, Jackson of California, and others, fought hard for such a military hedge. But the State Department took the position that spending was defense, that no military strategy was required in Europe or Asia. According to Paul Hoffman's testimony at ECA hearings, the Administration promised that military rearmament would not be allowed to interfere with ECA!

We still have no military strategy to outwit Soviet military planners. In a global war, as in Korea, our armed forces will have to fight on Stalin's terms -- in the wrong place, at the wrong time, and with only the shaky timbers of UN for diplomatic support.

III

How is it possible that our defense officials have fallen into such a trap? The reason is the total change in the character of our foreign-policy-making agencies in the last ten years. The dignified and compar-

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

atively effective State Department of 1939 has disappeared. All during the New Deal, Hull kept his Department rigorously within the Constitutional framework of a limited, non-aggressive executive agency spending money only as directed by statutory law. But by 1940 Hopkins, Wallace, and Morgenthau were moving over into making political and military strategy for World War II. They set up "emergency" agencies, like FEA, modelled on AAA and WPA. After V-J Day the personnel of these agencies was incorporated into State. Grew and other "old hands" were let out.

It is worth noting that this change from our historic methods of foreign policy making coincided closely with the growth of Communist influence on our foreign and military policy.

Truman's State Department is a combative, aggressive agency like AAA and WPA. It builds its own political following and propaganda arm, by skillful use of large funds, as AAA and WPA built theirs. It is ruthless in its "empire-building" at the expense of other Federal departments. Its budget has mushroomed, its staff has been multiplied many times, at the expense of qualified, experienced career men. Control of free funds gives it the necessary means for politicking and propaganda against its rivals in the Administration. It has carried on unremitting attack against every one in the Administration or outside who has dared to oppose its plans.

State hypnotized the military who stayed too long in Washington by the argument that the political planners should do their thinking for them. Even General Bradley was won over. It sent to "Siberia" the non-political fighting men who tried to warn the country of its danger. Finally, intoxicated with success, the State Department cabal pushed even to the top places in our defense establishment men and women who would "go along" with its policies.

In theory, of course, the President makes these decisions, but as the Executive establishment grows larger and larger, it becomes increasingly true, as Mosca pointed out, that most of the decisions are made by the "secondary ruling class", those officials who best understand the art of manipulating power. Today there is no question but that the State Department combine (including its satellite agencies like ECA) is the strongest influence in the "palace guard". Acheson has taken the place in Truman's entourage occupied by Harry Hopkins in Roosevelt's day.

IV

How long can Congress trust our survival as a nation to the military planning of this global colossus? The cure is simple, if Congress has the will to take hold. It must divorce the State Department from all

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

economic and spending programs, which are the sources of its power to compel other agencies in the Administration to do its will. Only thus can our defense planning be divorced from State's ideological windmills.

Congress can then call in our best admirals and generals, and tell them to make a strategy for our security divorced from all political and ideological thinking. If they cannot do it, we can find men who will. Let us find the real fighting men who can decide, with no hedging and no politics, what is the line which can be held in Asia, in Europe, in Africa? Whom can we trust militarily as allies? What is the precise military significance of UN? Let us have done with talk of what we can do in 1952. What of today?

When they have cleaned house in Defense, Congress can turn ECA over to the Defense Department. All of ECA which is not defense can be liquidated. The rest can be managed without that colossal waste of time and man power which Washington calls "interdepartmental cooperation". The armed forces did a brilliant job of economic reconstruction in Korea through GARIOA (Government and Relief in Occupied Areas) because they were not concerned with undermining Syngman Rhee. They did equally well in Europe. In the little time that is left, Defense must fit ECA to a single purpose -- our survival.

Straight loans can be turned over to the International Bank or Export-Import Bank. The "Voice of America" can be dismantled, and replaced by a program of psychological warfare, like that suggested by General Bonner Fellers, wholly under control of the armed forces.

Without its spending funds, State will have no power to punish members of Congress, members of the press or others who criticize its policies. Congress can then dismantle the empire which the Hopkins-Wallace-Frankfurter groups have built up behind the facade of the dignified old State Department, without fear of attack from mass organizations or the "mocking bird columnists" who are part of State's propaganda machine.

When the present State Department has been stripped down to the Foreign Service and a desk for the Secretary, it will be possible for the President to induce a man of courage and intelligence to take over as Secretary of State, and rebuild an American foreign policy with a single aim -- the survival of our country.

Quotation up to a paragraph is permitted with credit to HUMAN EVENTS. For reproduction or more extensive quotation address requests to HUMAN EVENTS, 1710 Rhode Island Avenue, N. W., Washington 6, D. C. Trial subscription, three months for $3. Six months, $5.50. One year, $10. Two years, $18. Domestic airmail (including APO and FPO) one year, $12.00; foreign (regular mail) one year, $11. Foreign airmail rates on request. Please remit in U.S.A. DOLLARS. Allow two weeks for new subscriptions or change of address to become effective.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Not Merely Gossip *A Supplement to* Human Events Vol. VIII, No. 3

By Frank C. Hanighen January 17, 1951

APPEASEMENT OF RED CHINA: The whole episode of the UN Cease-Fire proposal, which ended in a flat turn-down by the Communist China Government in Peiping, was part of an Acheson appeasement scheme, according to usually well-informed diplomatic circles. As explained to this column by these sources, General Collins and high brass went to Tokyo to protect the Acheson scheme on the military level, while on the diplomatic level the Cease-Fire proposal, termed "infamous" by some members of Congress, was under consideration by the Chinese Communist authorities. The diplomatic play was concealed from Congress in its preparatory stages, thereby enraging Senator Tom Connally, since the State Department had not kept him informed. The military play was to prevent MacArthur from staging the evacuation of Korea. The Far East Commander wanted (and wants) to take the boys out of Korea and told Washington of his desire. (As a matter of fact, MacArthur never wanted to fight mass warfare on the Asian mainland.) Collins went to Tokyo to see that there was no immediate evacuation, and to say so publicly and loudly.

The reason why Acheson wanted to restrain MacArthur from evacuating Korea is that if our troops were withdrawn, there would obviously be no reason for engaging in an appeasement conference with the Chinese Reds (which was the very hub of the UN Cease-Fire offer). Acheson wanted such a conference so as to frame a deal involving the sell-out of Formosa and Chiang Kai-shek to the Reds. Since the Reds have rejected the Cease-Fire proposal, will he try to attain the same end by other means? In any case, such were the motives behind the Cease-Fire affair and this was why those who understood Acheson's game violently attacked Cease Fire.

* * * * *

THE NEW TAFT: On January 14, the Gallup poll published results in a "Presidential trial heat poll", showing Taft leading Truman by a small margin. The "representative voters" were asked how they would vote if a Presidential election were being held today and Taft headed the Republican ticket against Truman. The fact that Taft lead Truman is probably less significant than the fact that the famous Gallup organization chose to make a poll involving the popularity of Taft rather than some other Republican. It shows that the position of Taft in the national scene -- however much the Eastern internationalist set dislikes it -- is of such importance that he cannot be given the silent treatment.

To watch Taft as he speaks publicly is to clearly realize his new position. His demeanor now expresses warmth, poise and unalloyed confidence. Twas not always so. In years gone by he showed a pertinacious defiance in his manner -- the same kind of defiance evident in a Socialist speaker in the heyday of Capitalism. The defiance of Taft sprang from the realization that the cards were stacked against them, the vested interests of Socialism strong and ruthless, the reactionaries, the real reactionaries symbolized by Big Government in substantial control of the channels of press and radio -- and that he was a little man fighting the real "big interests". Those were the days when Taft often lost his temper (to the regret of his friends) and gave a sour, chip-on-the-shoulder presentation of his views.

Yet, behind his new facade remains the same adamantine firmness in his convictions. Now the old gag -- "Taft has the best mind in the Senate until he makes it up" is outmoded. Today, the sly Fair Dealers who coined that mot, reluctantly recognize that Taft has the best mind in the Senate "period" -- and that when it's

Copyright 1951 by Human Events, Inc.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

made up, he's dangerous to them. It must be irritating to these opponents of Taft to find even their best friends influenced by what he has to say. For instance, over last week end, Taft literally blasted the UN proposal for a Cease-Fire arrangement in Korea. Those who hate him would have liked to play down the story in the press, but could not. The public wants to hear Taft. And the New York Times, in its leading editorial of January 15 was found giving forth an echo of Taft when it warned of the dangerous moral precedent in such a Cease-Fire proposal.

It would, of course, be foolish to overlook the potential weaknesses in the new Taft. There's a little too much likelihood of his acceptance of the term -- "Mr. Republican", so artfully kept going by the Fair Deal propaganda agents. Those opponents understand much better than the Taft entourage the handicaps such an appellation imposes on the Senator. Perhaps Taft discounts too much the loss of popularity he has suffered in the South and elsewhere since this term has come into popular use. He can hardly, however, remain unaware that the "roll-in" tide for the GOP, which Republican zealots acclaim, might eventually roll into the Presidency Dewey or some other Fair Deal Republican. By this time, Taft realizes what real organization did for him in the Ohio campaign. It is not certain that he understands the importance of the "war of ideas and words" which is of equal urgency. But the "new" Taft is still growing and learning, and it may be that the people are growing and learning too. Perhaps the people are beginning to realize the dangerous vacuum in the White House. If they do so, then they themselves may coin a new appellation for the Senator from Ohio -- "Mr. American".

* * * * *

NEW TAXES AND NEW SPENDING: Mr. Truman would seem to have been setting his sights very high, with a quite limited expectation of realization, when he prescribed an over-all, unitemized total of $140 billion for a two-year arms program, and new taxation (above the increases laid last year) of $20 billion, as goals for this year. The reaction in Congress, before an analysis has been made of all the spending that will be required this year, and before any objectives in foreign policy, in military planning, and in rearmament, have been determined, is one of astonishment or bewilderment. That there will be higher spending, and there must be higher taxes, is fully realized, but what a majority in both branches give evidence of wanting is that the metes and bounds in foreign policy, in the size of the military draft, in spending for rearmament, and in aid that is to be given to other nations, be clearly established, and that no blank checks be issued.

The sums are staggering to those who are charged with reducing tax and appropriation problems to the formulas of statutory enactments. The view is prevalent that the figures, at least in spending, are only a preconceived estimate, and rest on a genral contention that a great deal of money will be needed for, as yet, uncharted objectives, and that taxes must be fixed before there can be an intelligent appraisal of the effects on incomes of individuals, or upon business and industry, or the economy. In both branches are some skeptical-minded members who see in the two goals only a panicky move by Mr. Truman and his associates to spend themselves back into office next year; they recall the heyday of "something for nothing" campaign promises by Mr. Truman in 1948.

Chairman George, of the Senate Finance Committee, has raised the first high hurdle to $20 billion as a tax increase. He says pointedly, in the measured words to which he is accustomed, that he will not commit himself to a tax "which would wreck the economy of the country". In the light of the proposed arms spending of $140 billion, Senator George points out that it is not possible to attain the "balanced budget" on which Mr. Truman predicates his proposal for $20 billion in new taxes. Minority Leader Wherry says it is interesting to find Mr. Truman even thinking about a balanced budget.

* * * * *

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

DECENTRALIZATION OF MONEY: The Federal Reserve Board's order increasing the margin requirement on purchases of stocks has focused attention on the causes of the stock market boom. The phenomenon has been attributed to many factors, but not -- so far as we know -- to the shift of power from the Welfare to the Garrison State. This shift, as described by Frank Chodorov in his HUMAN EVENTS Analysis, Warfare vs. Welfare (January 10, 1951), involves an attendant decentralizing trend. People for safety's sake move out to the suburbs or the country. Factories disperse. And so forth. But what is more "decentralizing" than the shift of money from the securities of the U.S. Treasury to those of private companies all through the country? A security dealer from the hinterland told us the other day how farmer clients were selling U.S. bonds and placing funds in equities on the Big Board. Also, some think the recovery of utility stocks on the Stock Exchange is partly due to fear of bombing. Thus, industrial company A, located in Detroit, might lose all its plant in a bombing; utility company B, its equipment scattered over several states, stands in far less danger. Therefore, investors turn to utility stocks.

The effect of the rise in margin requirements has yet to be appraised. But many economists believe that the boom has not yet run its course. The present boom, it is said, is different from that of 1929. Then, the strong human urge to make a fortune easily sent the public to the brokers. Now, it is not to "make a pile", but to preserve capital from the inroads of inflation. Fear has fed the boom -- fear among the rich and moderately wealthy. But so far, it is agreed, the "public", the little fellows, have not entered the market in numbers comparable to the rush of the public in 1929.

If the Federal Reserve Board stops a wild boom on the Exchanges by raising margins, some "decentralizing" money may seek an outlet in land purchases. Farm land prices have risen sharply. An observer from one rural state tells us of the situation in a western state. All the businessmen in the state's one large city have been making investments in farms since the beginning of the war in Korea. But, says our friend, they have mainly been buying land within a short motor trip of the big city. They want to be able to conveniently watch their investments. There are many farm investments to be had, he says, farther out in the state. So, if this be true, the land boom may still have a lot of space to cover. In any case, as Mr. Chodorov pointed out, decentralization is on the way.

* * * * *

INTERNATIONAL FIREMAN: Nowadays an Administration supporter occasionally shouts "hindsight" in reply to some devastating review of the policies of Messrs. Truman, Marshall and Acheson. The Administration supporter's reproach would also be devastating if it were not for the files of the Congressional Record. Way back on March 18, 1947, the Hon. Howard H. Buffett, Representative from the 2nd Congressional District of Nebraska, made a speech to the House entitled "Is Truman Playing Into Stalin's Hands?" From his critique of State Department policy, we found one column which deserves pretty good marks for prophecy.

Mr. Buffett said: "Then after we have spread ourselves in Greece and Turkey, and our leaders are patting themselves on the back for their successful firm stand, a new alarm will come in. Communistic outbreaks will be reported serious in another area. We will rush to that alarm. A billion-dollar call will come from Korea. There will be renewed demands from China.

"All over the world we would soon be answering alarms like an international fireman, maintaining garrisons, and pouring out our resources. Our position would become more over-extended than Hitler's was at the height of his conquests -- if it is not already."

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Book Events

The Age Of Faith by Will Durant. New York: Simon and Schuster. $7.50 Reviewed by W. H. Chamberlin.

The Middle Ages still live in their soaring cathedrals, their finely wrought tapestries, in the ruins of ancient castles and the sonorous Latin of some of the hymns, such as the Stabat Mater. This "age of faith" was an era more limited in outlook than the Greco-Roman civilization which preceded it or the modern period which was ushered in by the Renaissance and the Reformation.

But it was by no means a barbarous or sterile age. The thinking of St. Thomas Aquinas has exercised a profound influence upon the methodology of Catholic philosophy down to the present time. A century like the Thirteenth which produced, along with Thomas Aquinas, perhaps the greatest of medieval Popes, Innocent III, the warmhearted St. Francis of Assissi, the sainted Louis IX of France and also the premature rationalist and sceptic, the Hohenstaufen Emperor Frederick II, is certainly not lacking in interest to the historian and the psychologist.

Will Durant has performed a prodigious task of synthesized erudition in assembling in a single volume of some twelve hundred pages the main events and trends, political and economic, religious and cultural, of the millenium that passed between the last pagan Emperor, Julian the Apostate, and the great poet whose "Divine Comedy" is a mirror of medieval ethics and culture.

Where so much is covered nothing can be treated in altogether adequate detail. Mr. Durant undertakes not only to describe the vicissitudes of Western Europe after the fall of Rome, but also to tell the stories of the Byzantine Empire, of Islam, of the medieval Jewish community.

The author's industry has been vast. The index requires sixty pages; the bibliography lists many hundreds of books. And Mr. Durant possesses the gifts of insight, selectivity and humor which bring the necessary elements of order and grace into what might otherwise have been a formless chronicle. He possesses the gift of summing up a long process in a deft phrase, a suitable epitaph. Of the Byzantine mind he says: "It broke Christianity in half over a vowel, and again over a word, and shattered the Eastern Roman Empire by seeing treason in every heresy."

And he sees in unknown peasants and early monastic communities the real builders of Europe:

"At the beginning of the Middle Ages the greater part of Europe's soil was untilled and unpeopled forest and waste; at their end the Continent had been won for civilization. Perhaps, in proper perspective, this was the greatest campaign, the noblest victory, the most vital achievement, of the Age of Faith."

Especially interesting is the author's analysis of the influence of Aristotle on Christian, Jewish and Mohammedan thought. As he points out, Jewish scholars acted as intermediaries in bringing the knowledge of Artistotle from the Arab East to the Christian West.

The Middle Ages was a time of plain speaking; the author cites a typical example to be found in a letter from St. Boniface to the Anglo-Saxon King Ethelbald in 756: "Your contempt for lawful matrimony, were it for chastity's sake, would be laudable; but since you wallow in luxury, and even in adultery with nuns, it is disgraceful and damnable."

There are few dull pages in this massive narrative of the Age of Faith. This book is a part of a still larger whole, a six-volume story of civilization. Mr. Durant has already published works on Asiatic civilization, on Greece and Rome. He has set himself two five year plans for the completion of his work with "The Renaissance and the Reformation", to be published in 1955, and "The Age of Reason", to appear in 1960.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED